

Topline Tables

Q1A: Which of the following is NOT a military service?

	%
Army	1.1
Air Force	1.3
Merchant Marines	92.1
Marine Corps	3.2
Navy	1.7
Skipped	0.6

Q1B: Which military service has the most personnel?

	%
Marine Corps	13.2
Space Force	0.6
Border Security Patrol	2.7
Army	79.9
Merchant Marines	2.0
Skipped	1.5

Q2A: Which of the following ranks from highest to lowest in the number of American combat fatalities: Vietnam (1962-1975), Gulf War (1991), Afghanistan (2001-2019), Iraq (2003-2019).

	%
Afghanistan, Vietnam, Gulf War, Iraq	9.1
Gulf War, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Iraq	7.7
Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan, Gulf War	27.8
Vietnam, Afghanistan, Iraq, Gulf War	28.2
Vietnam, Gulf War, Afghanistan, Iraq	26.1
Skipped	1.3

Q2B: In which of the following countries has a U.S. service member died since the beginning of 2017?

	No	Yes
Afghanistan	16.7	83.3
Niger	80.6	19.4
Yemen	73.6	26.4
Somalia	72.7	27.3
Iraq	31.7	68.3

Q3: Who is the Commander in Chief of the armed forces?

	%
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff	2.6
Army Chief of Staff	4.6
President	80.9
Secretary of Defense	8.2
Supreme Allied Commander	2.6
Skipped	1.1

Q11A: On a scale of 0-10 (with 0 being the least and 10 being the most), how much confidence do you have in the generals and admirals who have retired from the United States military?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Control	3.0	2.0	2.7	2.1	2.3	7.5	6.3	13.9	20.2	18.0	21.9
Republican Military	4.0	2.9	1.2	4.2	3.5	8.6	10.0	14.5	12.5	17.2	21.3
Democrat Military	2.0	1.0	2.0	4.5	5.9	8.6	6.7	15.0	21.8	17.2	15.4
Polarized Military	5.6	0.4	0.8	1.7	4.8	11.8	8.0	10.1	18.5	17.9	20.3
Lost Afghanistan War	2.8	4.0	2.4	3.6	4.2	8.4	11.2	15.3	21.4	10.7	16.1
Won Afghanistan War	3.0	1.0	1.9	2.6	3.9	9.5	7.6	10.6	18.4	15.8	25.8
Ethical Generals	3.0	1.7	3.2	3.8	3.1	8.8	8.5	15.6	19.6	15.4	17.4
Unethical Generals	4.0	3.1	2.4	1.2	8.0	13.5	7.9	14.8	21.7	10.1	13.3

Q12A: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: The military has become too partisan.

	%
Strongly Agree	6.0
Agree	17.1
Neither	54.2
Disagree	16.9
Strongly Disagree	5.7

Q12B: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: The military is good at what it does.

	%
Strongly Agree	2.1
Agree	3.5
Neither	16.0
Disagree	42.6
Strongly Disagree	35.8

Q12C: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: The military usually wins the wars it fights.

	%
Strongly Agree	2.3
Agree	8.8
Neither	31.0
Disagree	38.6
Strongly Disagree	19.3

Q12D: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: The military is representative of the demographic diversity of American society.

	%
Strongly Agree	5.6
Agree	16.1
Neither	29.4
Disagree	34.4
Strongly Disagree	14.7

Q12E: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: The military maintains the highest standards of professional ethics.

	%
Strongly Agree	3.8
Agree	12.4
Neither	29.1
Disagree	36.6
Strongly Disagree	18.1

Q12F: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: The military makes truthful claims.

	%
Strongly Agree	4.1
Agree	14.3
Neither	40.9
Disagree	29.1
Strongly Disagree	11.5

Q12G: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: The military shares my values.

	%
Strongly Agree	4.4
Agree	11.7
Neither	38.4
Disagree	30.9
Strongly Disagree	14.6

Q12H: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: Most members of American society have confidence in the military.

	%
Strongly Agree	1.4
Agree	6.8
Neither	26.7
Disagree	49.7
Strongly Disagree	15.5

Q12I: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: Members of the military should not get preferential treatment in airports and restaurants.

	%
Strongly Agree	29.7
Agree	37.1
Neither	21.3
Disagree	8.2
Strongly Disagree	3.7

Q16A: [If Q16 = 1] To which party do most members of the military belong?

	%
Most are Democrats	9.0
Most are Republicans	41.7
There are about equal numbers of Republicans and Democrats	48.8
Skipped	0.4

Q16B: [If Q16 =2] In general, to which party do most members of the military who affiliate with a political party belong?

	%
Democratic	11.8
Republican	22.2
There are about equal numbers of Republicans and Democrats	65.8
Skipped	0.1

Q17: How would you describe the political ideology of most members of the military?

	%
Extremely Liberal	2.0
Liberal	4.3
Slightly Liberal	4.0
Moderate	22.9
Slightly Conservative	15.0
Conservative	19.8
Extremely Conservative	4.2
Don't Know	27.3
Skipped	0.5

Q18: As you consider the people serving in the military, do you think they mostly look like you, or do they mostly come from very different demographic backgrounds than you?

	%
Most look like me	11.0
Some look like me	33.5
A few look like me	20.7
Most don't look like me	14.8
Don't Know	19.4
Skipped	0.6

1 - Q19A: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: Members of the military should be allowed to publicly express their political views just like any other citizen.

	%
Strongly Agree	4.8
Agree	12.5
Neither	24.3
Disagree	36.6
Strongly Disagree	21.9

1 - Q19B: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: It is proper for retired generals and admirals to publicly criticize the President of the United States for his performance as Commander-in-Chief.

	%
Strongly Agree	10.3
Agree	16.9
Neither	33.0
Disagree	27.5
Strongly Disagree	12.4

1 - Q19C: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: It was proper when retired generals and admirals criticized President Obama for his performance as Commander-in-Chief.

	%
Strongly Agree	10.7
Agree	17.5
Neither	33.3
Disagree	25.9
Strongly Disagree	12.5

1 - Q19D: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: In general, high-ranking civilian officials rather than high-ranking military officers should have the final say in whether or not to use military force.

	%
Strongly Agree	11.2
Agree	23.7
Neither	37.4
Disagree	20.0
Strongly Disagree	7.8

1 - Q19E: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: A system in which the military rules would be a good way of ruling this country.

	%
Strongly Agree	36.7
Agree	21.6
Neither	28.3
Disagree	10.0
Strongly Disagree	3.3

1 - Q19F: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: Senior military leaders, like generals and admirals, have told the American people the truth about the war in Afghanistan.

	%
Strongly Agree	7.9
Agree	20.8
Neither	47.1
Disagree	18.9
Strongly Disagree	5.3

1 - Q19G: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: To be respected as Commander-in-Chief, the President should have served in uniform.

	%
Strongly Agree	8.8
Agree	20.3
Neither	37.4
Disagree	22.0
Strongly Disagree	11.5

1 - Q19H: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: There tend to be more problems when you use non-military tools like sanctions and diplomacy than when you use military force to address foreign policy issues.

	%
Strongly Agree	12.8
Agree	24.1
Neither	42.4
Disagree	16.2
Strongly Disagree	4.5

2 - Q19A: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: Members of the military should not publicly criticize senior members of civilian branches of the government.

	%
Strongly Agree	7.3
Agree	17.3
Neither	35.2
Disagree	28.6
Strongly Disagree	11.6

2 - Q19B: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: It is proper for the military to advocate publicly the military policies it believes are in the best interests of the United States.

	%
Strongly Agree	3.5
Agree	12.1
Neither	32.8
Disagree	37.8
Strongly Disagree	13.7

2 - Q19C: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: It is proper for retired generals and admirals to publicly criticize President Trump for his performance as Commander-in-Chief.

	%
Strongly Agree	12.4
Agree	16.7
Neither	29.7
Disagree	22.3
Strongly Disagree	18.9

2 - Q19D: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: In wartime, civilian government leaders should let the military take over the running of the war.

	%
Strongly Agree	4.9
Agree	15.1
Neither	39.3
Disagree	28.7
Strongly Disagree	12.1

2 - Q19E: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: Military leaders do not have enough influence in deciding our policies with other countries.

	%
Strongly Agree	3.1
Agree	17.7
Neither	45.8
Disagree	27.5
Strongly Disagree	6.0

2 - Q19F: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: The statements of retired generals and admirals reflect the views of the men and women currently serving on active duty in the U.S. military.

	%
Strongly Agree	4.1
Agree	18.5
Neither	52.1
Disagree	19.8
Strongly Disagree	5.4

2 - Q19G: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: Military leaders care more about the people under their command than leaders in the non-military world care about people under them.

	%
Strongly Agree	1.9
Agree	9.4
Neither	42.6
Disagree	32.5
Strongly Disagree	13.6

2 - Q19H: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: There tend to be more problems when you use military force than when you use diplomatic tools like sanctions and diplomacy to address foreign policy issues.

	%
Strongly Agree	3.1
Agree	12.5
Neither	40.1
Disagree	33.0
Strongly Disagree	11.3

Q27A: Next, we will provide some statements that may or may not describe the people serving in the military. Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: Most members of the military are educated.

	%
Strongly Agree	3.6
Agree	15.6
Neither	37.8
Disagree	32.2
Strongly Disagree	10.7

Q27B: Next, we will provide some statements that may or may not describe the people serving in the military. Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: Most members of the military are selfless.

	%
Strongly Agree	4.4
Agree	10.2
Neither	39.3
Disagree	34.2
Strongly Disagree	11.9

Q27C: Next, we will provide some statements that may or may not describe the people serving in the military. Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: Most members of the military are homophobic.

	%
Strongly Agree	9.1
Agree	23.3
Neither	46.2
Disagree	16.0
Strongly Disagree	5.4

Q27D: Next, we will provide some statements that may or may not describe the people serving in the military. Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: Most members of the military are racist.

	%
Strongly Agree	19.9
Agree	31.9
Neither	36.2
Disagree	7.5
Strongly Disagree	4.5

Q27E: Next, we will provide some statements that may or may not describe the people serving in the military. Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: Most members of the military are heroes.

	%
Strongly Agree	2.8
Agree	11.0
Neither	33.7
Disagree	32.9
Strongly Disagree	19.6

Q27F: Next, we will provide some statements that may or may not describe the people serving in the military. Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: Most members of the military have PTSD.

	%
Strongly Agree	6.4
Agree	24.4
Neither	39.1
Disagree	19.3
Strongly Disagree	10.8

Q27G: Next, we will provide some statements that may or may not describe the people serving in the military. Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: Most members of the military are truthful.

	%
Strongly Agree	2.3
Agree	7.9
Neither	43.9
Disagree	36.4
Strongly Disagree	9.4

Q27H: Next, we will provide some statements that may or may not describe the people serving in the military. Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: Most members of the military are dangerous.

	%
Strongly Agree	21.3
Agree	34.7
Neither	30.5
Disagree	8.3
Strongly Disagree	5.2

Q27I: Next, we will provide some statements that may or may not describe the people serving in the military. Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: Most members of the military are sexist.

	%
Strongly Agree	13.5
Agree	27.6
Neither	39.7
Disagree	13.8
Strongly Disagree	5.5

Q27J: Next, we will provide some statements that may or may not describe the people serving in the military. Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: Most members of the military are intelligent.

	%
Strongly Agree	1.9
Agree	6.5
Neither	39.8
Disagree	39.9
Strongly Disagree	11.9

1 - Q28A: Now we want to ask you your opinion about a number of policy questions that relate to the military: If the President authorized the removal of all U.S. troops from Iraq, would you support that decision?

	%
Yes	55.0
No	16.6
Don't Know	28.2
Skipped	0.2

1 - Q28B: Now we want to ask you your opinion about a number of policy questions that relate to the military: Do you think the United States made a mistake sending troops to Afghanistan in 2001?

	%
Yes	30.8
No	42.2
Don't Know	26.7
Skipped	0.3

1 - Q28C: Now we want to ask you your opinion about a number of policy questions that relate to the military: Do you think women should be allowed to serve in all combat jobs in the U.S. military?

	%
Yes	69.5
No	18.9
Don't Know	11.3
Skipped	0.3

1 - Q28D: Now we want to ask you your opinion about a number of policy questions that relate to the military: Do you think the United States government should be allowed to use drones to carry out attacks in other countries on people deemed a threat to the U.S.?

	%
Yes	61.7
No	15.3
Don't Know	22.6
Skipped	0.4

2 - Q28A: Now we want to ask you your opinion about a number of policy questions that relate to the military: If the President authorized the removal of all U.S. troops from Afghanistan, would you support that decision?

	%
Yes	51.9
No	16.6
Don't Know	30.4
Skipped	1.1

2 - Q28B: Now we want to ask you your opinion about a number of policy questions that relate to the military: Do you think the United States made a mistake sending troops to Iraq in 2003?

	%
Yes	36.7
No	33.8
Don't Know	28.6
Skipped	1.0

2 - Q28C: Now we want to ask you your opinion about a number of policy questions that relate to the military: Do you think transgender persons should be allowed to serve in the U.S. military?

	%
Yes	53.5
No	26.4
Don't Know	19.0
Skipped	1.0

2 - Q28D: Now we want to ask you your opinion about a number of policy questions that relate to the military: Do you think the United States government should be allowed to use special operations forces to carry out attacks in other countries on people deemed a threat to the U.S.?

	%
Yes	61.6
No	13.7
Don't Know	23.6
Skipped	1.0

1 - Q31: Who deserves the most credit for the outcome of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan?

	%
Civilian political leaders	10.5
Senior military leaders	39.5
Enemies on the battlefield	4.8
Don't Know	45.0
Skipped	0.2

2 - Q31: Who deserves the most blame for the outcome of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan?

	%
Civilian political leaders	38.9
Senior military leaders	9.5
Enemies on the battlefield	14.3
Don't Know	36.3
Skipped	1.0

1 - Q33A: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: Overall, our political leaders share the same values as the American people.

	%
Strongly Agree	14.8
Agree	29.3
Neither	34.8
Disagree	15.6
Strongly Disagree	5.4

1 - Q33B: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: Overall, our political leaders are demographically representative of the American people.

	%
Strongly Agree	17.2
Agree	26.0
Neither	30.6
Disagree	20.1
Strongly Disagree	6.1

1 - Q33C: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: I would be disappointed if a member of my family or a close friend joined the U.S. military.

	%
Strongly Agree	33.0
Agree	32.9
Neither	21.1
Disagree	8.0
Strongly Disagree	5.0

1 - Q33D: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: In general, I respect people who have served in the military more than I respect those who haven't served.

	%
Strongly Agree	3.3
Agree	12.6
Neither	37.7
Disagree	29.9
Strongly Disagree	16.5

1 - Q33E: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: Through leading by example, the U.S. military could help American society become more moral.

	%
Strongly Agree	6.0
Agree	10.6
Neither	38.7
Disagree	32.7
Strongly Disagree	12.0

1 - Q33F: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: The military needs to become more like American society.

	%
Strongly Agree	9.3
Agree	21.8
Neither	46.2
Disagree	16.6
Strongly Disagree	6.1

1 - Q33G: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: The U.S. government would function better if we allowed the military to take over non-military programs, such as tax collection or public education.

	%
Strongly Agree	31.9
Agree	27.9
Neither	28.1
Disagree	7.7
Strongly Disagree	4.4

1 - Q33H: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: All Americans should stand for the national anthem.

	%
Strongly Agree	9.1
Agree	9.3
Neither	23.0
Disagree	19.1
Strongly Disagree	39.6

2 - Q33A: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: In general, senior military leaders, like generals and admirals, share the same values as the American people.

	%
Strongly Agree	2.7
Agree	12.0
Neither	42.1
Disagree	34.9
Strongly Disagree	8.3

2 - Q33B: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: In general, senior military leaders, like generals and admirals, are demographically representative of the American people.

	%
Strongly Agree	5.6
Agree	22.5
Neither	41.5
Disagree	22.3
Strongly Disagree	8.1

2 - Q33C: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: I would be proud if a member of my family or a close friend joined the U.S. military.

	%
Strongly Agree	2.4
Agree	6.3
Neither	21.7
Disagree	36.7
Strongly Disagree	32.9

2 - Q33D: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: In general, people who join the U.S. military are more patriotic than people who do not join.

	%
Strongly Agree	5.1
Agree	23.4
Neither	34.3
Disagree	26.9
Strongly Disagree	10.3

2 - Q33E: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: The military has more problems with sexual harrasment and assault than civilian society.

	%
Strongly Agree	5.9
Agree	24.9
Neither	43.7
Disagree	18.3
Strongly Disagree	7.1

2 - Q33F: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: The military gets more respect than it deserves from civilian society.

	%
Strongly Agree	20.0
Agree	37.7
Neither	27.5
Disagree	9.8
Strongly Disagree	5.0

2 - Q33G: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: The United States government should cut spending on domestic entitlement programs like Medicare and Social Security in order to increase spending on the defense budget.

	%
Strongly Agree	37.5
Agree	28.9
Neither	22.9
Disagree	6.4
Strongly Disagree	4.3

2 - Q33H: Please indicate the extent to which you agree/disagree with the following statements: All Americans should stand for the national anthem because it shows respect for our military.

	%
Strongly Agree	7.9
Agree	10.7
Neither	25.7
Disagree	20.6
Strongly Disagree	35.0

Q41A: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I have quite a lot of confidence in the U.S. military.

	%
Agree	14.2
Disagree	85.8

Q41B: According to recent polls, the U.S. military is by far the most respected institution in America today. An overwhelming majority of Americans believe it is their patriotic duty to “support the troops.” Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I have quite a lot of confidence in the U.S. military.

	%
Agree	15.4
Disagree	84.6

Q41C: According to recent polls, confidence in the U.S. military decreased by ten points between 2009 and 2017. Fewer Americans now believe it is their patriotic duty to “support the troops.” Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I have quite a lot of confidence in the U.S. military.

	%
Agree	15.8
Disagree	84.2

Q41D: Please tell us how many of the statements listed below you agree with. We don’t want to know which ones, just how many. For example, if you agree with three items on the list, you would answer “3”. Remember, we won’t know which answers you agree with, just how many.

- I have quite a lot of confidence that the earth is flat.
- I believe global warming is a left-wing conspiracy.
- I believe immigration is good for the economy.
- I have quite a lot of confidence in my local Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV).
- I believe abortion should be illegal except for cases of rape or incest.

	%
1	5.6
2	12.2
3	34.2
4	33.0
5	12.3
6	2.7

Q41E: Please tell us how many of the statements listed below you agree with. We don’t want to know which ones, just how many. For example, if you agree with three items on the list, you would answer “3”. Remember, we won’t know which answers you agree with, just how many.

- I have quite a lot of confidence that the earth is flat.
- I believe global warming is a left-wing conspiracy.
- I believe immigration is good for the economy.
- I have quite a lot of confidence in my local Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV).
- I believe abortion should be illegal except for cases of rape or incest.
- I have quite a lot of confidence in the U.S. military.

	%
1	6.4
2	6.2
3	23.4
4	31.4
5	21.0
6	9.0
7	2.5

	Control	Treatment	True (%)	Direct (%)	Effect (%)
Democrat	3.16	3.88	72	83	11
Independent	3.27	3.94	67	81	13
Republican	3.24	4.03	80	95	15
Overall	3.22	3.94	72	86	14

Q42A: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: I approve of President Trump's declaration of a national emergency along the U.S.-Mexico border.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Control	25.5	19.6	15.7	10.4	28.9
National Emergency	26.9	17.1	15.0	9.3	31.7
Troops Quoted	22.6	16.6	16.1	14.1	30.6
Democratic Leader	26.4	14.7	15.0	11.4	32.5
Military Agree	20.5	15.1	20.6	14.4	29.3
Military Disagree	17.1	11.9	15.8	15.7	39.5

Q42B: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: The Central American migrants approaching the southern border pose a serious threat to U.S. national security.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Control	24.5	21.3	23.7	15.0	15.5
National Emergency	22.4	22.1	20.9	13.4	21.1
Troops Quoted	18.3	21.6	21.9	18.5	19.7
Democratic Leader	20.2	20.3	20.9	18.4	20.1
Military Agree	17.1	19.9	26.5	14.4	22.1
Military Disagree	15.2	15.2	21.7	23.2	24.7

Q42C: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: The military has become too partisan.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Control	8.1	20.2	51.3	15.9	4.5
National Emergency	7.0	17.5	51.7	17.1	6.7
Troops Quoted	7.8	17.5	51.8	16.7	6.2
Democratic Leader	7.6	18.5	51.4	14.6	7.9
Military Agree	6.2	17.9	58.9	13.2	3.8
Military Disagree	5.7	16.2	56.3	16.8	4.9

Q42D: Please indicate to what extent you agree/disagree with these statements: The military is good at what it does.

Q46: Has a member of your immediate family (parent, spouse, sibling, child, or grandparent) served, or do they currently serve, in the military?

	%
Yes	55.2
No	40.4
Don't Know	3.8
Skipped	0.6

Q47: Would you advise a close friend or relative or the child of a close friend or relative to join the military?

	%
Yes	42.4
No	26.9
Don't Know	30.2
Skipped	0.5